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RACE PROGRESS AND IMMIGRATION

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The first impression from comparison of our original Anglo-Saxon ancestry in America with the motley throng now pouring in upon us is not cheering. Most of the pioneers in early days were untutored but intelligent, rude but virile, lawless, perhaps, but independent freemen. They were largely of one ethnic stock or, at all events, a combination of the best strains. The horde now descending upon our shores is densely ignorant, yet dull and superstitious withal; lawless, with a disposition to criminality; servile for generations, without conception of political rights. It seems a hopeless task to cope with them, to assimilate them with our present native-born population. Yet there are distinctly encouraging features about it all.

These people in the main have excellent physical qualities, in spite of unfavorable environments and political oppression for generations. No finer physical types than the peasantry of Austria-Hungary are to be found in Europe. The Italians, with an out-of-door life and proper food, are not weaklings. Nor is even the stunted and sedentary Jew—the third great element in our present immigrant horde—an unfavorable vital specimen. Their careful religious regulations have produced in them a longevity even under the most unfavorable environments, exceeding that of any other large group of the people of Europe. Even to-day, under normal conditions, a rough process of selection is at work to bring the better types to our shores. We receive in the main the best, the most progressive and alert of the peasantry and lower classes which these new lands, recently tapped, are able to offer. This is a feature of no mean importance to begin with.

The great problem for us in dealing with these immigrants is not that of their nature, but of their nurture. Barring artificial selection by steamship companies and the police, we need not complain in the main of the physique of the new arrivals. Our care should be to protect and improve that bodily condition or, at least,

to minimize the influences which tend to depress it. We need the manual labor of these people. But we must not use them up or permit their vitality to be unduly sapped. They are fellow passengers on our ship of state; and the health of the nation depends upon the preservation of the vitality of the lower classes. This is especially needful under modern conditions of congestion of population in great cities.

The preservation and upbuilding of the physique of these people is, moreover, distinctly an economic problem. It naturally separates into two parts. One is the proper feeding and housing of the present generation, the protection of a minimum standard of living; the other, and more potent factor, is provision for the next generation. This means primarily the preservation of sound conditions of home life. This is the only safeguard for the future. The most alarming feature of the vital condition of the immigrant class to-day is the threatening effect upon the birth rate and at the same time upon the vitality of those who are born—of the pressure of industrial life upon the family. The presence of large numbers of adult unmarried men of the lower class in any community inevitably leads to immorality. A vicious youth too often means not only a small number of offspring, but a tainted one as well. The sudden change of environment is upsetting enough to immigrant youth under any circumstances. When to this is added a prolonged bachelorhood because of the high cost of living, and especially of rent, the danger is increased many fold. Perhaps the most serious aspect of the physical problem before us is that of postponed marriage. Some of the evidence under this head I have set forth in statistical fashion in a recent number of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain*. The material is hardly suitable for presentation at this time. But it is important that public attention should be turned to it as an outgrowth of our present economic conditions.

The significance of the rapidly increasing immigration from Europe in recent years is vastly enhanced in the United States by a powerful process of social selection. Racial heterogeneity, due to the direct influx of foreigners in large numbers, is aggravated by their relatively high rate of reproduction after arrival; and in many instances by their surprisingly sustained tenacity of life, greatly exceeding that of the native-born American. Relative submergence of the domestic Anglo-Saxon stock is strongly indicated for the

future. "Race suicide," marked by a low and declining birth rate, as is well known, is a world-wide social phenomenon of the present day. Nor is it by any means confined solely to the so-called upper classes. It is so notably a characteristic of democratic communities that it may be regarded as almost a direct concomitant of equality of opportunity among men. To this tendency the United States is no exception; in fact, together with the Australian commonwealths, it affords one of the most striking illustrations of present-day social forces. Owing to the absence of reliable data, it is impossible to state what the actual birth rate of the United States as a whole may be. But for certain commonwealths the statistical information is ample and accurate. From this evidence it appears that, for those communities at least to which the European immigrant resorts in largest numbers, the birth rate is almost the lowest in the world. France and Ireland, alone among the great nations of the earth, stand lower in the scale. This relativity is shown by the following table, giving the number of births in each case per thousand of population:

BIRTH RATE (APPROXIMATE).

Hungary	40
Austria	37
Germany	36
Italy	35
Holland	33
England, Scotland, Norway, Denmark	30
Australia, Sweden	27
Massachusetts, Michigan	25
Connecticut, Rhode Island	24
Ireland	23
France	22
New Hampshire	20 (?)

This crude birth rate, of course, is subject to several technical corrections, and should not be taken at its full face value. Moreover, it may be unfair to generalize for the entire rural West and South, from the data for densely populated communities. Yet, as has been observed, it is in our thickly settled Eastern states that the newer type of immigrant tends to settle. Consequently, it is the birth rate in these states, as compared with that of the newcomer, upon which racial survival will ultimately depend.

The birth rate in the United States in the days of its Anglo-Saxon youth was one of the highest in the world. The best of authority traces the beginning of its decline to the first appearance, about 1850, of immigration on a large scale. Our great philosopher, Benjamin Franklin, estimated six children to a normal American family in his day. The average at the present time is slightly above two. For 1900 it is calculated that there are only about three-fourths as many children to potential mothers in America as there were forty years ago. For Massachusetts, were the old rate of the middle of the century sustained, there would be 15,000 more births yearly than now occur. In the course of a century the proportion of our entire population, consisting of children under the age of ten, has fallen from one-third to one-quarter. This, for the whole United States, is equivalent to the loss of about 7,000,000 children. So alarming has this phenomenon of the falling birth rate become in the Australian colonies, that in New South Wales a special governmental commission has voluminously reported upon the subject. It is estimated that there has been a decline of about one-third in the fruitfulness of the people in fifteen years. New Zealand even complains of the lack of children to fill her schools. The facts concerning the stagnation, nay even the retrogression of the population of France, are too well known to need description. But in these other countries, the problem is relatively simple, as compared with our own. Their populations are homogeneous, and ethnically at least, are all subject to these social tendencies to the same degree. With us the danger lies in the fact that this low and declining birth rate is primarily confined to the Anglo-Saxon contingent. The immigrant European horde, until recently at least, has continued to reproduce upon our soil with well sustained energy.

Baldly stated, the birth rate among the foreign-born in Massachusetts is about three times that of the native-born. Childless marriages are one-third less frequent. This somewhat exaggerates the contrast, because of differing conditions as to age and sex in the two classes. The difference, nevertheless, is very great. Kuczynski has made detailed investigations as to the relative fecundity of different racial groups. The fruitfulness of English-Canadian women in Massachusetts is twice that of the Massachusetts born; of the Germans and Scandinavians it is two-and-a-half times as

great; of the French-Canadians it is thrice; and of the Portuguese four times. Even among the Irish, who are characterized nowadays everywhere by a low birth rate, the fruitfulness of the women is fifty per cent. greater than for the Massachusetts native-born. The reasons for this relatively low fecundity of the domestic stock are, of course, much the same as in Australia and in France. But with us, it is as well the "poor white" among the New England hills or in the Southern states as the town dweller, who appears content with few children or none. The foreign immigrant marries early and children continue to come until much later in life than among the native-born. It may make all the difference between an increasing or declining population whether the average age of marriage is twenty years or twenty-nine years. The contrast between the Anglo-Saxon stock and its rivals for supremacy may be stated in another way. Whereas only about one-ninth of the married women among the French-Canadians, Irish and Germans are childless; the proportion among the American-born and the English-Canadians is as high as one in five. A century ago about two per cent. of barren marriages was the rule. Is it any wonder that serious students contemplate the racial future of Anglo-Saxon America with some concern? They have witnessed the passing of the American Indian and the buffalo, and now they query as to how long the Anglo-Saxon may be able to survive.

On the other hand, evidence is not lacking to show that in the second generation of these immigrant peoples, a sharp and considerable, nay, in some cases, a truly alarming decrease in fruitfulness occurs. The crucial time among all our newcomers from Europe has always been this second generation. The old customary ties and usages have been abruptly sundered, and new associations, restraints and responsibilities have not yet been formed. Particularly is this true of the forces of family discipline and religion, as has already been observed. Until the coming of the Hun, the Italian and the Slav, at least, it has been among the second generation of foreigners in America, rather than among the raw immigrants, that criminality has been most prevalent. And it is now becoming evident that it is this second generation in which the influence of democracy and of novel opportunity makes itself apparent in the sharp decline of fecundity.¹

¹This topic is more fully treated by the author in the Huxley Memorial Lecture before the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain; published in its Journal, Dec. 1908.

Another feature of the physical side of this problem is the effect of intermixture of these various peoples upon the future population of the United States. It is inevitable that they should intermarry, and it is best that it should be so. One cannot contemplate without deep concern a future in which we should be divided permanently into groups of different nationalities, each preserving a large measure of its individuality intact. Such a state of affairs has for years been the curse of Austria-Hungary and the Balkan States. There must be a gradual amalgamation; in time even comprehending all the various peoples of Europe within our borders. That the lines should best remain sharply drawn between the white and the yellow and black races is, however, equally clear. The evidence as to the effect of such crossing of different European types is meagre. In a measure we must fall back upon general considerations. Going back far enough, it is clear that all the peoples of Europe are a hodge-podge of different stocks. Take Italy, for example. In *The Races of Europe* I have shown in detail how the people of this little country are compounded of two racial stocks, as different in physical type as the poles. These two stocks are almost pure in the north and the south, respectively. They are indissolubly intermingled all through the middle provinces. Shall any one dare to affirm that the peasantry about Rome are inferior in any way to those of Piedmont or Sicily? It would be a most difficult task to prove it.

In addition to this sort of general evidence there is material of a more definite kind. Who among distinguished men have an ancestry of a mongrel sort? A number of brilliant instances can be cited. The most extreme, of course, is Alexandre Dumas, in whom West Indian negro blood did not prevent his attainment of great distinction. But our evidence need not be so radical as this. Crosses between white and black races are seldom successful, physically at least. One can never be sure how far this is due to social causes. But in cases of crossing between different branches of the white races no such detrimental social or economic influences are brought into play. Alexander Hamilton was certainly a brilliant example of intermarriage between French and English stock. In the same group may be classed such notable men as Du Maurier and St. Gaudens. Dante Gabrielle Rossetti stands for a still greater strain of the bonds of nationality. In the union of Greek and

Irish blood in Lafcadio Hearn we have as rare an exotic physically as he was an unusual intellectual product. It would be interesting to gather evidence of this sort widely, but these few examples show that intermixture is, at all events, not destructive in its effects. The present tendency of the Irish women among us to intermarry with all sorts and conditions of men, even of the Mediterranean stocks, may be watched with interest in this same connection.

The mental and moral nurture of these immigrants is of equal importance with their physical preservation—to the native-born American it is of even more concern. For, although we might conceivably struggle along under the economic burden of an overload of physically defective people among us, the very existence of the republic as a political and social unit is threatened by any deterioration of the mental and moral character of the lower classes. If we permit these people to come in order to hew our wood and draw our water we must in our own selfish interest assume the added responsibility of caring for their minds and souls. This means the adoption of an active programme of social betterment. Such a programme is, of course, of primary importance for the children and young people. It is in this class that the University Settlements, like Hull House in Chicago, and the South End House, in Boston, are doing their best work. There must be more and better schools, with such radical innovations as lunches for the small children, as are now in practice provided in several places. The factory laws in especial must be adjusted to fit the school laws. Persons of tender age must be protected from the greed alike of employer and of selfish parents. Humane regulation of hours, provisions for decency, sanitation and safety must be enforced by law. This is already, of course, done in the more progressive states, like Massachusetts, New York and Illinois. But a social programme for the young people must go beyond this point. It must include parks and playgrounds in the congested immigrant districts, as well as public baths and open-air gymnasia. The libraries must be adjusted to the needs of the young as well. They must devote their attention not to the supply of the latest fiction to childless American women, but rather to the development of neighborhood reading rooms, children's departments, and like endeavors. Uplifting influences of these sorts to meet the needs of the women and children of the immigrant classes are imperative as a safeguard for our own political existence. Of course,

it will be expensive to do all these things. But so are hospitals, almshouses, prisons and asylums expensive. It is surely the part of wisdom to submit to taxation for the prevention rather than for the cure of social evils.

What of the social programme for adult immigrant men. Not seeming or shrewd philanthropy, not autocratic welfare work, aimed to bind the workman to his job, like the old Pullman establishment or too many of the newer elaborate programmes, are what is needed. Opportunity for self help and improvement should be the aim. This opportunity should meet three distinct needs of the individual. The first is that of decent housing at a reasonable price. The family as a social unit is absolutely dependent upon this condition. This by implication means adequate transportation and the strict regulation of public service companies.

The second opportunity which must be kept open to the immigrant is that of self help by organization. The trade union, stripped of certain of its notorious objectionable features, has been one of the greatest factors in the advancement of the working classes in the last century. It is to a far greater degree than is ordinarily suspected a social and benevolent organization. Full scope for the development of the beneficent aspects of the trade union must be afforded under the law, with especial view to the protection of the individual members against unreasonable coercion by majority rule. The problems of minority rights in trade unions and industrial corporations are akin in many respects.

The third opportunity which must be held open to the immigrant is that of thrift and provision for sickness and old age. This does not mean simply savings banks ; it should extend to reasonable facilities for insurance. The state need not directly intervene, other than to set up agencies, such as have recently been offered in Massachusetts, through which the poor may secure insurance as cheaply as the rich. The elimination of the wasteful private industrial insurance companies must be followed by the substitution of other means by responsible agencies, either the state or private organizations under strict public supervision. The rights of the individual against industrial loss must form a part of our social programme. One of the intolerable evils of the day, except in a few progressive states, is the unfair imposition of the entire loss in industrial accidents upon the working classes. The United States in this regard is

a full generation behind the principal countries of Europe. It is high time that other states awakened to a sense of their responsibilities and adopted the beneficent laws for employer's liability now in force in Massachusetts and New York. For even these states are a full stage behind Great Britain and Germany in securing a fair distribution of industrial losses between master and servant.

The highest obligation imposed upon the Anglo-Saxon by the presence of the alien in America is that of political and social virtue. The lesson must be afforded from above, that wealth is the reward of intelligent industry and thrift, and not of graft and greed. It must be made plain that progress results from the subjection by man of the forces of nature and not from the oppression by many of his fellow men. Social ostracism should be visited upon the successful but unscrupulous financier or delinquent director of corporations as it is visited upon the ordinary criminal of the lower classes. Political corruption by corporations desiring to control legislative bodies is as great, if not a greater, menace to our social welfare to-day than is the personal violence of the highwayman. To point this lesson has been the lasting service of Theodore Roosevelt as President of the United States.

It is imperative also that the courts be kept free to dispense even-handed justice. The dishonest director must be brought to account as strictly as the conniving business agent of trade unions. It is undeniable that the popular distrust of our judiciary is a distinct source of social unrest. The injunction as a weapon of defense for the employer is not applied in too many cases with entire impartiality, and the immigrant, all too suspicious of governmental agencies as a result of generations of oppression in Europe, is the first to be inoculated with this distrust.

It is of the utmost importance that the fullest allegiance of our immigrant population to the state should be awakened and maintained. No better political ideal to command their loyalty can be imagined than the description of Athens put by Thucydides into the mouth of Pericles in order to account for the love and devotion of her citizens to her welfare: "She wishes all to be equal before the law; she gives liberty; keeps open to everybody the path of distinction; maintains public order and judicial authority; protects the weak, and gives to all her citizens entertainments which educate the soul."